

ANTI-SLAVERY BUGLE.

"NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS."

VOL. 4.—NO. 39.

SALEM, OHIO, FRIDAY, MAY 18, 1849.

WHOLE NO. 195.

THE ANTI-SLAVERY BUGLE.

Published every Friday, at Salem, Columbia Co., Ohio, by the Executive Committee of the Western Anti-Slavery Society; and is the only paper in the West which advocates secession from pro-slavery governments and pro-slavery church organizations. It is edited by BENJAMIN S. and J. KANSAS JONES; and while urging upon the people the duty of holding "No Union with Slaveholders," either in Church or State, as the only consistent position an Abolitionist can occupy, and as the best means for the destruction of slavery; it will, so far as its limited power permits, give a history of the daily progress of the anti-slavery cause—exhibit the policy and practice of slaveholders, and by facts and arguments endeavor to increase the zeal and activity of every true lover of Freedom. In addition to its anti-slavery matter, it will contain general news, choice extracts, moral tales, &c. It is to be hoped that all the friends of the Western Anti-Slavery Society—all the advocates of the Disunion movement, will do what they can to aid in the support of the paper, by extending its circulation. You who live in the West should sustain the paper that is published in your midst. The Bugle is printed on an imperial sheet, and subscribers may take their choice of the following

TERMS.

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No deviation from these terms.

We occasionally send numbers to those who are not subscribers, but who are believed to be interested in the dissemination of anti-slavery truth, with the hope that they will either subscribe themselves, or use their influence to extend its circulation among their friends.

Communications intended for insertion to be addressed to the Editors. All others to the Publishing Agent, JAMES BARRETT.

From the Cleveland Plain Dealer.

Gold Mines of Ohio.

The California fever is taking off so many good citizens of this good State, that in order to check it we are disposed to reveal what we know about certain gold mines NOT A THOUSAND MILES AWAY.

"Putting California out of the question," says the Philadelphia North American, "Professor Ansted, of King's College, London, estimates the total value of the gold mines in all parts of the world at \$6,500,000 or about thirty-two and a half millions of dollars a year. This includes an estimate of \$200,000, or a million of dollars, from North America; but California is left out as not yet affording any data upon which to found a rational estimate. Different persons guessing for her, according to their various moods, a product of from one to two hundred thousand up to twenty or thirty millions a month. We can not ourselves pretend to assign the value of the gold which is to be raised in California; but we should deem ourselves deserving the credit of great liberality, should we suppose California capable of producing as much as Asiatic Russia, which is supposed to yield twenty millions a year. At that rate, indeed, California will do well—very well—well enough; and most persons, we fancy, will be perfectly well satisfied, and perhaps agreeably surprised, when she is proved to be capable of pouring into the world a great annual flood of treasure."

But, after all, what is there in this to be so very much excited and delighted at—to make so great a noise about. Twenty millions of dollars is no such astonishing sum to be yielded by an American gold mine. We have some dozens of mines that yield far richer returns, among which we may specially mention those that are wrought by American farmers. There is no such place in the world as a well manured field; picks, and shovels, and bowie knives are trifling mining implements as compared to the plough and harrow; the stream of water that washes the gold will never compare with the rains of heaven that make it; the harvestman's cradle is a more efficient piece of machinery than the miner's—to say nothing of the reaping machine by which the golden product is gathered off whole acres in an hour, and the thrasher by which the gold grains are separated, a hundred or a thousand bushels of them a day. Take the gold mines—such gold mines—of almost any respectable State in the Union, and balance their wealth against all that California promises. We take the agricultural estimate, in the annual Patent Office Report for 1848, and we find that in the single State of Ohio, the gold-diggers of the homestead mines turned out some twenty millions of bushels of wheat, worth, in these latitudes, full as many millions of dollars; so that the Ohio wheat fields already produce as much gold as the whole Russian empire is supposed, and as such as all California is expected to produce. Her maize fields, the same time, gave seventy mil-

lions of bushels of Indian corn, worth upwards of forty millions of dollars—or twice the estimate of the California gold. There are thirty millions of bushels of oats, worth ten millions of dollars, raised in Ohio for the purpose of being fed away to the horses. Twenty millions of dollars worth of gold will not bring California up to the level of Ohio.

In fact, one cannot but feel a disposition to smile at all this excitement about the wealth of the valley of the Sacramento, who, by looking over these tables, is reminded of the vast wealth—and that was of a mere every-day agricultural character—of the United States. The wheat crop was worth, one dollar a bushel, \$126,000,000; the maize crop, at fifty cents, \$353,000,000; the more hay, at ten dollars, was worth \$157,000,000. If we add to these the oats, rye, barley and buckwheat, and potatoes, merely rejecting all other farming products, seeds, roots, and truck-crops of every kind, we have a total annual value of \$768,000,000 as respecting a part only of the products of these gold mines here at home. The truth is, if we add the animal food, &c., raised, making the proper deduction from the hay and other crops for the cost of raising it, as well as of sustaining the animal labor employed, not forgetting the rice, tobacco, cotton, hemp, &c., of the south, we shall find that the agricultural mine of the United States yields upwards of one thousand millions of dollars, that is, more than the whole British national debt, which American farmers accordingly could pay off, if they felt inclined, in a single year. No, no; these gold mines of California are not so amazing as people think.

It takes some four or five hundred dollars to carry a gold seeker from Philadelphia to the Sacramento. The same sum will carry him to Iowa or Minnesota, and buy him a quarter section of land, with a cabin and the necessary farming outfit. Now, on such a mine as that, we do not suppose any one would be likely to dig up, or plough up one or two ounces a day; but an industrious man could calculate upon support, independence, competency; along with the happy companionship of friends and family, and the conscious security of one who worked his own mine, and could hand it down to his children after him.

Incendiary Publications.

The South is now being flooded with abolition documents and newspapers.—While the *Anti-Slavery Standard* continues its offensive visits, we observe another of the same sort—the *Pennsylvania Freeman*—has commenced to be circulated in the Southern States. We respectfully invite the attention of President Taylor, "the man of the South," to the management of the Post Office Department. These documents are treasonable. The *Freeman* denounces the Constitution of the United States as "an infamous and wicked covenant." These publications are not only insulting to the people of the South, but are intended to overthrow our institutions and plunge the country into the direst evils.

The Government, under the Constitution, we believe has the entire control of the Post Office Department, and also the power to regulate what matter shall be carried through the mail. In the absence of legislative enactment then—for we believe no law exists on the subject, Mr. Calhoun's bill in 1836 having been lost at its final reading in the Senate—we conceive it to be the duty of the Executive—a duty which he owes to the people of the South—that he should endeavor to fill the Post Office Department with men who will not, by virtue of their office, aid in circulating these documents in the Southern States where they are prohibited by law.

The recent and increasing circulation of these documents is beyond doubt attributable to the knowledge that the Postmaster General is a thorough-going free soil man, and in all probability an Abolitionist; and it is a bad beginning for the administration of a Southern President that the enemies of our institutions should have such confidence in the agents of the Post Office Department, and that their confidence thus far has not been misplaced. There were scarcely one of these documents or papers circulated under the late Administration.—*South Carolina, Columbia, S. C.*

We are utterly at a loss whether our friend, the Editor of the South Carolina, is in earnest or not, but doubtless many of his readers must think him so. What a pretty canopy of middle age twilight those readers must dwell under! They do not seem to have the slightest apprehension of what nineteenth century republicanism is. They seem to be perfectly ignorant of the great discovery of this age, that "error of opinion may be safely tolerated where reason is left free to combat it." They seem to suppose republicanism is to be fostered by the antiquated arts of king-craft Russia iron extinguishers, Venetian blinds, inquis-

tors, censors, gags, hemp, tar and peremptory silence applied to thought and types. Why, men alive, it was forty some years ago that no institution is worth keeping, or can be kept in a republic, which cannot stand the freest possible motion of the press.—*Chronotype.*

Progress of the Mormons.

The settlement of the persecuted Mormons in the far-off Salt Lake Valley, making a sort of half-way house between the western frontier and the Pacific, will prove of immense advantage to the United States in peopling and civilizing those vast regions. The rapid increase of this sect, despite every obstacle, is scarcely realized by the public, and a late *St. Louis Organ* thus notices the Mormon progress:

"There is in this city and neighborhood a body of them, which, though constantly sending off detachments on their way to the 'promised land,' is still rapidly increasing. The number in St. Louis and vicinity is estimated at 3,000. In Illinois, Wisconsin, Iowa and Michigan, (including Kansasville, on the Missouri river), there are computed to be 25,000. In the great Basin and western California, there are probably 12,000 more. The Mormons scattered elsewhere over the United States may swell the total Mormon strength in the Union to near 50,000. To this aggregate, which, allowing the mishaps of this 'church,' must be considered a heavy one, should be added for the large number of converts in England, Scotland and Wales—all of whom are either now preparing for removal to the United States, or are looking forward to some future and no distant day, for that to them happy and most desired consummation. In the United States, as in Great Britain, this new church is receiving constant accessions from the ranks of farmers, mechanics and working men—persons to whom, whatever else may be said of them, cannot be denied the virtues of strong faith and earnest and sincere devotion to the creed they have adopted.

The popularity of such a creed is a remarkable fact in the history of Christendom. And its apparent vitality is no less so. For it must be borne in mind that the Mormons are not a mere new sect of Christians. As Christians they cannot be regarded, since they have supplemented Scripture by a new revelation. They believe in direct and present intercourse with deity; they believe that angels from heaven are now occasionally appearing upon earth; they believe that Mormons are endowed with the gift of prophecy; they believe that the new world is reserved for the Mormons to possess and to enjoy—and that probably the center of the 'New Jerusalem' will be at the Salt Lake."

CAPITAL PUNISHMENT IN MASSACHUSETTS.

—The Joint Special Committee on the subject of the abolition of Capital Punishment have submitted a report to the House, with a draft of a bill for the abolition of the Death Penalty for all crimes except that of murder in the first degree—that is, wilful, deliberate, premeditated murder. For murder in the second degree, the bill provides that the punishment shall be confinement in the State Prison for life. The crime of killing a man in a duel, as principal, is counted murder in the first degree; and every second in such duel, is counted guilty of murder in the second degree; the crimes of treason, rape and arson are punishable with imprisonment for life, instead of hanging, as the law now provides. The bill also provides that the Supreme Judicial Court shall exercise the same jurisdiction over all crimes specified in this act as it has heretofore had over all capital offences.

Great Rally of the Colored People!

Condemnation of the Colonization Scheme!

We last week gave the resolutions passed at the great Anti-Colonization meeting held in New York city, and we this week give the speeches of C. L. Remond and Chas. L. Reason. Frederick Douglass, Henry Bibb and others spoke at length during the two days the meeting held its sittings. We are sorry we have not room for the entire proceedings, which were photographically reported for the "Anti-Slavery Standard."

C. L. Remond spoke as follows in advocacy of the first series of resolutions re-affirming the opposition of the colored people to the American Colonization Society.

I scarcely need intimate, sir, that I take great pleasure in giving my second to the series of resolutions which have been presented to the consideration of this large and intelligent assembly through my friend Mr. Downing, and in saying so much, sir, I could have wished to have been allowed to take my seat, for there are others present to whom I should have preferred to listen. But sir, I feel that the present meeting called for the purpose of discussing the subject which has been introduced for our consideration, is one in which we, as a people, are deeply interested. This thought alone moves me more than any other to take this platform. It is not my purpose to recapitulate here, either the history or the origin of the American Colonization Society, or its subsequent acts.—These things are before the American people, they are acquainted with them; and if there is one object more than another to be gained by the holding of this meeting, I apprehend it is to deepen the detestation already entertained towards that infamous scheme. But, sir, we fall in one essential particular here this evening; we have not the persons

on who are mainly the supporters of the American Colonization Society. If they were present I should have no difficulty whatever in saying the few things I have to express. But if they hear me at all it must be through my audience, and of course it can only go to them at second-hand.

That the entire people of color are opposed to the Colonization Society I do not believe. And I apprehend that there are those present this evening who are not prepared to subscribe to the resolutions which have just been introduced. To such I have a few thoughts to suggest; and whilst I shall do so, I shall endeavor to make a distinction between the resolutions which prompted the American Colonization Society into being, and the spirit which prompts many colored persons to go to Africa, and to express myself. With this I have no war, so to express myself. I wish to be distinctly understood, that I believe in the largest exercise of individual opinions, individual ambitions for elevation and wealth. And I also recognize the fullest right in colored persons, as well as in white, to go where they shall choose to go, for the purpose of bettering their condition either morally, socially, politically or religiously. I say, sir, I am here, not to oppose, but to give my countenance to action of this kind. But I feel that the spirit of the American Colonization Society, from its origin to the present moment, has been to break up that exercise of our individuality. I hate it, sir, not so much that I believe it ever can remove the people of color from these United States, but because I believe that so long as it shall exist, its tendency is to make more rabid the spirit of caste and prejudice against the colored people in this country. And I think, sir, it is in honest in this expression, that it comes honestly by this spirit. I have, however, felt that the Colonization Society originated in American Slavery, and coming from such a source I do not believe that any good can come out of it. Therefore, I have ever warred against it, and must be permitted to do so now. Why, sir, there are those at the present moment who can blink the charges which the American Colonization Society have from time to time preferred against the people of color, and in the face of these charges can insist that there is, nevertheless, charity and even Christianity in the movement. Well, if the charges have not been sanctioned and subscribed to by the parent Society, I could allow my charity to go out to that extent; but as long as I can remember having heard the speeches of the leaders of the Colonization Society, I have either found those charges directly or indirectly made, or subscribed to by the different members of that Society. And what have those charges been? Have they contended, sir, that the people of color should be recognized on an equal footing with other citizens, in any part of our country, under any circumstances? On no occasion have I seen it. On the contrary the endeavor has been from beginning to end to prejudice the American mind more deeply than it was before through the efforts of American Slavery itself. Now I need not intimate, Mr. Chairman, the grossness of these charges, the untruthfulness of them, nor their bitterness, hatred, enmity and jealousy. But, sir, how are they to be met? I hold that the present meeting is the place to put again the seal of condemnation upon all such charges, by the adoption of such resolutions as have been offered.

Now I know that the American Colonization Society through its auxiliary in my native State, (Massachusetts,) has been blaspheming our statesmen as well as clergymen have subscribed to them by their countenance, by their support, by their contributions, by their appeals, and by their prayers in behalf of the parent Society. And since it has ever been my endeavor to meet the Society as found at its birth in 1817.—And I can no more welcome the advocate of Colonization that stands forth in Park street Church, in Boston, than I can Henry Clay when he delivers an anniversary oration in the city of Washington. I hold the two to be identical in this matter, be their position what they may in my native State or elsewhere.

Why, sir, I remember well when the question was being discussed concerning the abolition of the remnant of that old slave law, in the city of Boston, that when we, as people, forsook that we were not at liberty to exercise one of the first prerogatives conferred upon us by our God and Creator, we were told in public as well as in private, that if we did not like the customs, usages and laws of our native State, we could go to our fatherland in Africa, under the auspices of the American Colonization Society. I asked them to repeat the charges. I asked the Legislature of that State, when it was my privilege to stand before them, if we had ever sacrificed our rights by our voice, or whether we had not acquired them by our virtues; and that Legislature remained silent, and remained silent from that time to this. And, sir, I hope the day is not far distant when upon that question being put in other parts of our country, the only answer that shall be made, shall be one of silence. Silence, in many instances, is ominous, and in this it is ominous in view of the infernal machinations of the American Colonization Society from the very moment of its inception to the present time. Hence, whether in the abstract or in the concrete, it is ever to be deplored by us, as a people, to be resisted even to the shedding of the blood that necessarily will and is being shed on our hearts. (Applause.)

Now, sir, a word with regard to these charges. I see before me this evening a large number of people of color. What says the Society? That we are "low, vicious, idle, heathen;" in a word, that we are "enemies," and consequently that we must be removed." But in the very next breath they tell the patrons of the Society and those whom they would convert to their cause, "revere these low, vicious, idle, heathen en-

slaves to Africa, and in an instant they stand up clothed in all the attributes calculated to make them missionaries and teachers in the work of civilization and Christianity." I have asked them to put this and that together, and reconcile them if they can. My audience, sir, gives the lie to the charges, and my audience will give the lie to them to-night by endorsing these resolutions. And I hope, sir, that when the proceedings of this meeting shall go over to England, and shall meet the eye of Mr. (Agent) Miller, that they will teach him the lie if we are low and heathen in this country, (the American Slavery and the Colonization Society that has made us so.) (Applause.) And if we are vicious, American Slavery has made us vicious; that if we are low, American Slavery has made us low.

To short, that American Slavery and the American Colonization Society have been the instruments of making us just what we are in our vices. (Applause.)

If we are ignorant, I ask to whom is it attributable but to Slavery and the Colonization Society. The one has said, that if we wished to obtain a knowledge of the Arts and Sciences, we must be colonized; and the other, when we have knocked at the door of the college and academy, has said to us, go to your fatherland. We have been treated shamefully, eye shamefully! Here in your city, not long since, was written over the door of one of your places of public exhibition, "No admission for dogs and negroes" (laughter.) Sir, I believe that American Slavery instituted that notice in that place of exhibition. In Philadelphia, a few weeks ago, I saw a notice intimating to "respectable colored people" that they could gain admission to see the wax-figures on a certain day and hour, taking it for granted that this was to be felt by them as a privilege. What but American Slavery and the American Colonization Society prompted the notice in that paper!

Now, sir, I call upon this audience to give their unanimous sanction to the most radical sentiments contained in this resolution. And why do I say it? Sir, a distinguished man long ago has said "eternal vigilance was the price of liberty." I wish to repeat that motto, by saying that eternal vigilance is the price of our safety as a people in the United States. (Applause.) How does it happen that in the State of New York there are thousands of colored persons disfranchised? How does it happen that the same is true of the State of Pennsylvania, of Connecticut, and other States? Can we trace it to any other source than the one to which I have referred? I apprehend not. Sir, I believe that Henry Clay, with all his eloquence, on one hand, and John C. Calhoun, with all his devilism (laughter) on the other, would not come before this meeting and attempt to sustain their position. (renewed laughter.) I apprehend that if they were found in the other direction than Africa at least. But my remarks are not directly applicable to my audience alone. A distinguished man said long ago, that "in the veins of many a slave is known to course the blood of the noblest of our Southern planters." Well, sir, why does it happen that in the southern country we find a law unlike the law of any other country beneath the canopy of heaven? We find the law there to be that the child shall follow the condition of the mother. Why is this? Sir, if the people in the southern country were to follow the condition of the father, we know very well what that condition would be (laughter and applause). Now it seems to me that the patrons of the Colonization Society need to change their phraseology, and if they insist that we go to Africa at all, it should be on the score that Africa is our mother and not our fatherland (laughter). I do not, Mr. Chairman, wish to convey the idea that if Africa was my fatherland I should be ashamed of it; very far from it. For in view of the vices of the white American on the one hand, and the virtues of the colored American on the other, I think we may be decidedly more proud of our ancestry than they can be of theirs, so far as the last one or two hundred years is concerned. We have every thing else to be ashamed of on our part, and I am not here to deprecate the Colonization Society on the score of being ashamed of Africa as my fatherland.

One word more in this connection. We look around our country at the present time, and what do we behold? We find coming to our shores day after day, week after week, month after month, thousands and tens of thousands of those who have heretofore been a population of paupers, and they receive a hearty welcome as they pass in from every country and clime, from every tongue and kindred. Now, sir, it is strange that while the doors of the American people are thrown widely open, and all classes from every country are allowed to come, and are welcomed here, it is strange, I say, that there are not some other reasons than those given why a peculiar class of the American people should be transported out of the country. I believe, sir, that the scheme is unconstitutional as well as unchristian. I do not know the constitution, or passage or word in the American Constitution recognizing the removal of any portion of the American people ostracized by crime; and I have never been satisfied with the coolness with which, in too many instances, the propositions of the Colonization Society have been received by the colored people. I think, sir, we should have shown more spirit in the matter. I can give you an illustration of the spirit which actuates some of the advocates of this Society.

While in London, in 1849, my good friend,

Thomas Sturge, informed me that on that evening Mr. Cresson was to deliver a lecture on the colonization scheme at a public place, six miles from the city. It was then four o'clock and I immediately took the cars and went out to the place where the lecture was to be given. I was an entire stranger in that town, and I enquired for the place of the meeting. On reaching it and going in, I saw that it was held in a sort of Amphitheatre, which was then occupied by a literary society in that town before which Mr. Cresson was lecturing. I stood near the door and before me was a balcony looking over which I could see and hear what was going on. The audience was an intelligent one, and Mr. Cresson was making an excellent use of his subject.

I thought I would be permitted to make a lecture question. He said he did not know how it would be; and while conversing with him, a friend came out who happened to know me, having seen me at a meeting of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, and he spoke to me. I made known my wish, and he said at once that he would secure me a hearing. When Mr. Cresson was about closing his remarks I rose, and in as polite a manner as I was able, asked him if he would permit me to ask or suggest a question. He looked at me and recognized me, and after pausing a moment, he said no; and then turned to the audience giving them to understand why he would not allow me to ask a single question. He said that I was one of the number who subscribed to Garrison's views, who went against the American Constitution and the American Union, who called slaveholders thieves and robbers, &c., in a word, that I was in co-operation with the men who would be happy to see our Southern country dissolved in blood. His remark, although brief, was forcible, and the audience responded to them. Of course I was to understand the response as a sort of rebuke to myself. However, when he had finished I asked the audience to hear with me for a moment—that I came from the country from which Mr. Cresson came, that I was one of the number which the Colonization Society proposed to remove, and that I thought I had a right to ask a question, if I should catch it in respectful terms. Well, the cry was raised in the building "hear him, hear him!" (Applause.) I then took occasion to change my first purpose, and instead of asking Mr. Cresson the question I had proposed, I took the opportunity to give the Colonization Society a sort of side-wise thrust, or as the Yankee boys would call it, "a side whither" (laughter) and I found before I had proceeded far that the responses in my behalf were charged more numerous than the previous ones. And now I thought I would be safe in making a short speech. I did so, and took my seat. On sitting down I was at once invited to lecture in that place on the subject, but before I accepted the invitation I gave Mr. Cresson a polite invitation to discuss the subject with me, one, two, three, or four evenings. He said no; he would not condescend to discuss with one coming from the United States, and exhibiting such a spirit as I had done on that evening. Well, I thought I had already achieved a slight victory. I accepted the invitation, went to the place at the appointed time, delivered my lecture, and received unanimous applause of thanks from the audience, who made up a comfortable little purse for my lecture, and I went back to London feeling pretty well. (Applause.) I merely call your attention to this matter to show you that among the agents in England, whenever and wherever they find sympathy, you can see the same spirit manifested as that to which I have referred. It is to be seen in the treatment which Mr. Cresson gave me on that occasion. I ask my audience now, if it does not prove that in view of the circumstances which surround them at the present time, let us have additional ones, and let the people of England learn that colored though we be, we know our rights, and God helping us, we mean to have them in the land of our nativity, and in common with the American people. (Applause.) And if we mean to go to Africa we will do so voluntarily without the help or countenance of the American Colonization Society. We will take the responsibility ourselves, as General Jackson said. We will go with the spirit that the white American goes to California or the Brazil. Tell me not of my fatherland or my motherland; that is my fatherland land where I happen to be born, and I claim as equal right to remain here with the white inhabitants. Why, sir, my grandfather was among the first that repaired to the plains of Lexington, and there bared his bosom,—not, sir, in defence of the colored population exclusively, but he bared his bosom to British bullets for the liberty and independence of the American people and the freedom of American soil. (Great applause.) And, sir, I should be ashamed at my ancestry if I did not now assert and give not only the American people, but the world, to understand, that here I was born, and here I am to defend my right, to live and to die. (Applause.)

Chas. L. Reason offered a resolution declaring that the colony at Liberia had been recanted to the cause of human freedom. Mr. R. remarked that as a full report of the proceedings of this evening's meeting was to be sent to England, he wished to

While in London, in 1849, my good friend,

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ANTI-SLAVERY BUGLE, SALEM, O.

Anti-Slavery Bugle.

SALEM, MAY 18, 1849

"I LOVE AGITATION WHEN THERE IS CAUSE FOR IT—THE ALARM BELL WHICH STARTLES THE INHABITANTS OF A CITY, SAVES THEM FROM BEING BURNED IN THEIR BEDS. Edmund Burke.

Persons having business connected with the paper, will please call on James Barnaby, corner of Main and Chestnut sts.

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE Western Anti-Slavery Society.

The Seventh Annual Meeting of the Western Anti-Slavery Society will be held at the Grove Meeting House or vicinity, two miles North-West of New Garden, and eight miles South-West of Salem, on Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday, the 19th, 20th, and 21st of June, commencing at 10 o'clock, A. M.

The Annual Meeting of the Western Anti-Slavery Society should be emphatically a gathering of the Abolitionists of the West. The doctrine of "No Union with Slaveholders,"—the motto which the Society has inscribed upon its banner—is every year more and more commending itself to the reflecting minds and true hearts of the Northern opponents of Slavery. Every movement upon the part of the government, every struggle which the Northern people make to free themselves from the power of slavery, but shows the hopelessness of all efforts to win the freedom of the slave or to regain their own rights so long as they own allegiance to the United States Constitution.

Let then all whose eyes have been anointed to see the sinfulness of sustaining this pro-slavery government, assemble at New Garden, and reiterate their testimony against that "covenant with death and agreement with hell,"—let them rally to the support of that movement whose existence is necessary to preserve in its purity the anti-slavery faith.

This is no time for lukewarmness or indifference. Every human soul that hates slavery should now, if ever, speak out. The conflict is waxing hotter and hotter, and high above the sounds of the battle should be heard the noblest rallying cry of the hosts of freedom—"NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS."

It is expected that HENRY C. WRIGHT, of Philadelphia, and OLIVER JOHNSON, of Massachusetts, will be present on the occasion; and it is hoped that other Eastern friends will be there, to participate in the proceedings. But whether or not we have aid and counsel from abroad, let each come prepared to do his duty, and no anniversary ever held in the West, will exceed this in interest.

BETSEY M. COWLES, Recording Secretary.

The Annual Meeting.

It will be seen by the official notice that the Anniversary Meeting of the Western Society will be held at New Garden, commencing on Tuesday, the 19th of June, and it is to be hoped that as many true Abolitionists as can possibly attend, will be on the ground from the first to the last session. We know that the past year has been one of trial to many—the political Simoom which swept over the land has destroyed the moral life of some, and enervated for a time the energy and power of others. There is, therefore, more need that those whose principles have remained unshaken, whose faith in God and Truth was not sacrificed to Expediency, should give themselves anew for the conflict, and come well prepared to sustain their part in the struggle between the hosts of Freedom and of Slavery. We might say that the present is a great crisis, and so it is; every day and hour of the battle is a crisis, and the longer the warfare is waged the more critical does each hour become, the more effective each blow given for God and Man, and the more fraught with disaster every retrograde movement. Ought there not—will there not be a strong rally at New Garden of men and women, good and true? The cause of anti-slavery, we admit, is not as attractive to the people generally as the gold of Sacramento; but should not those who profess to love it, manifest as much devotion to its service as do the California emigrants to their gold? Those who go to New Garden, we believe will discover some rich anti-slavery placers that will well repay them for the working, and from which they can extract more wealth than from the whole Sacramento valley.

We do hope that none will absent themselves upon slight pretences; these yearly gatherings are necessary to the healthful growth of the anti-slavery cause. They make Abolitionists acquainted with each other; and the magnetic power of fellowship is communicated from heart to heart, and infuses new life and vigor into those who come in contact with its electric touch. It is hard for one to stand alone, and yet this is sometimes necessary; but if that one have the companionship of but one other, his strength increases in geometrical proportion. One can chase a thousand, but two can put ten thousand to flight. We believe that the general testimony of those who attend the annual meetings of the Western Society is, that their zeal is deepened, their strength increased, and their moral vision made clearer by these annual

feasts. Hence it is desirable that all who can attend should do so, and not only that they may be benefited themselves, but that they may also benefit others.

The place selected for the meeting we suppose will give dissatisfaction to some; but what better could the Committee do? They asked those who wished the meeting in their neighborhood to invite the Committee to appoint it there. No invitation came from any place except Cherry Valley and New Lyme in Ashtabula Co., and no one therefore has any right to complain of the meeting being appointed in New Garden except the friends in the before mentioned places, and they, we know, will not feel disposed to do so.

It is generally expected on these occasions that distinguished speakers will be present. The absence of such attraction ought not to lessen the desire of any Abolitionist to attend; indeed none should feel that the presence of friends from a distance—however desirable their aid and counsel may be—is necessary to create a sufficient interest to make the meeting attractive. There is enough of the home material to make the Annual Meetings all that they need be, if each one would but do his or her part towards it, and that they should do so, is asking none too much at their hands. We do not, however, wish to intimate that none of our friends from other States will be with us. Henry C. Wright—who expects to labor in the West the coming summer—will without doubt be on the ground; Oliver Johnson of Mass., who will soon take the editorial charge of the Bugle, may be expected to attend and participate in the deliberations and action of the society; Abby K. Foster has assured us that she cannot come West this summer, yet we have a "feeling sense," as Friends would say, that she will be at New Garden on the 19th of June.

Three years ago we had an excellent meeting at New Garden, which, though not so large as the subsequent Anniversaries, probably contained as many true-hearted Abolitionists. They seemed to feel their individual responsibility, and appreciate the importance of the position they occupied. Whether the meeting this summer is larger or smaller, we hope it will be pervaded by as good a spirit, and exert as beneficial an influence upon human freedom.

Let us Look at Home.

The foreign papers bring intelligence that Albert Brisbane of New York, a disciple of Fourier, has rendered himself exceedingly obnoxious to the French government by his speeches at some of the Reform banquets in Paris, and has consequently been ordered to quit the French territory on a short notice. Many of the papers in this land exclaim against this outrage on the freedom of speech, and see in the act an evidence that France is republican only in name. It certainly does not savor much of freedom to proscribe a man for free speech, but it is done every day in this land, and nobody that is anybody has ought of indignation to spend upon it. If it is anti-republican in France to gag a man, what is it in America! If the crushing of free speech in Paris by the French government is an evidence that that government has violated the rights of man, what shall be said of the same deed done in Washington by the American government!

If France wishes to plead precedent in justification of the act, she has but to refer to the history of this country to present them by scores. Have the people forgotten the successful and unsuccessful attempts to gag men in Congress! Has the memory of buildings burned that free discussion might be checked, faded as the light of their flames was extinguished! Has the remembrance of those who were murdered while defending freedom of speech, passed away with the crimson tide that stained the earth! When every city in the North and almost every hamlet has witnessed the triumph of mob-law or civil law over free speech, it will become this nation to taunt France with inconsistency, when she is but doing what has been done a thousand times in the "model republic." Let the people of America "Look at home."

DUFFY LIBERATED ON RAIL.—The second trial of this Irish Patriot has closed, and the British government have failed in obtaining a conviction. The jury were unable to agree, seven being for acquittal, and five for conviction; he was discharged on bail after an imprisonment of ten months, and this, we suppose will terminate the trials of those who engaged in the recent disturbances in Ireland.

BLOODY MASSACHUSETTS.—Gov. Briggs and his council have refused to commute the sentence of Goode, the colored man who has been condemned to death; and this too, when twenty-five thousand of the citizens of Mass. petitioned for it, and but nine against it.—The Governor should be required to execute him himself, and choke him with his hands instead of a rope; such a fulfillment of the pretended command of blood for blood, would probably prevent his Excellency from signing another death warrant.

Riot in New-York.—It appears from the correspondence of the "Pittsburgh Gazette," which will be found in another column, that mob-law has been holding a jubilee in New York. The mobs which have been got up in that city for the purpose of putting down anti-slavery, grew out of a feeling that was

embodied in that report some facts from the pen of Dr. D. Francis Bacon, who was for more than two years a resident agent of the Colonization Society on the coast of Africa. Dr. Bacon was formerly from New Haven, and at present the editor of the Day Book, a daily paper in this city. He wished to say, once for all, that the facts he was about to read were published in the Day Book during the late visit of President Roberts and suite, while in this city, and they remain uncontradicted to the present time, notwithstanding the challenge of the editor to disprove them. The facts are these:

"Joseph J. Roberts, the President of the colony (containing by their own statements 5000 inhabitants) and John N. Lewis, the Secretary of the colony, were, in 1837, the agents, employers and factors of Pedro Blanco, the greatest slave-trader on the coast.—Roberts was employed to purchase vessels for him in Sierra Leone to be used as slave-ships after having been captured and condemned under the Portuguese flag. Lewis was employed to store goods and merchandise destined for the Slave Trade and was for years in close connection with Blanco and his agents. The brother of Payne, now a missionary, was regularly employed as a workman at the slave factory at New Sesters.—The writer saw him there in 1839. The colony in 1836-37-38 and '39 was one of the greatest auxiliaries of the Slave Trade, and the slave-traders in return were the chief support and defence of the colony. Without their aid, the colony would have nearly perished in 1839. The whole colony favored the Slave Trade, and rejoiced in every opportunity to enter the service of the Slave Trade. The slave vessels were the most frequent visitors of Liberia. There were sometimes six of them anchored at Monrovia for a week together, active in business connected with Slave Trade. (Day Book, July 3, 1848).—John N. Lewis in 1837 was in the employ of Pedro Blanco, the great Spanish trader at Gallinas, about 60 miles from Monrovia, and within the territory of the Colony of Liberia. He was Blanco's store-keeper at Monrovia, and received a large amount of money for services in connexion with the Slave Trade, and for sale of store hired of him by Blanco.

"While the brig Leech was discharging a large cargo of tobacco belonging to Blanco at Monrovia (which was then a depot of the Slave-Traders, and quite indispensable to their traffic on account of the badness of the soil at Gallinas in that year) John N. Lewis acted as his house for several weeks an agent or factor of Blanco, named Thomas Rodriguez Buron. John N. Lewis brought this gentlemanly slave trader to Dr. Bacon's house and introduced him to his own account." (Day Book, July 12.)

"The pastor of the Baptist Church at that time, the Rev. Colin Teague (of Mr. Payne) was employed at the same time with John N. Lewis to store cargoes for Pedro Blanco. His store-house was also a depot for the slave-traders, and he received plenty of money from Blanco without hesitation.—There were dozens and scores of Liberian Christians actively and joyfully engaged in the Slave Trade without any more compensation than they would have obtained the palm oil trade.

"It is a notorious fact in Africa, that the colony of Liberia was for years an important auxiliary to the Slave Trade, and that the facilities and conveniences of the slave-trade were vastly increased by it. The Spanish and Portuguese traders were always heartily welcomed and were the most popular men that ever visited Liberia.

"The Liberian colonists themselves freely bought and owned slaves at that time. The editor of the Day Book was advised and strongly urged by a prominent and most respectable and religious Liberian, high in office, to purchase two slaves for his household, on account of the difficulty of retaining free natives for any considerable time in any steady employment." (Day Book, July 15.)

At a subsequent meeting the same speakers remarked.

Last evening I presented some facts which I considered necessary to add to the interest and influence of the meeting, and I am now about to present some additional facts showing the connection of the Liberia colony with the Slave Trade. I learn further in presenting this series of facts, that during the year 1837, a Portuguese vessel, a slave, was taken by a British cruiser, carried into Sierra Leone, and by the judgment of the Commission Court, according to British law, was condemned and sold. J. J. Roberts, alias governor Roberts, alias, President Roberts, went up from Monrovia to Sierra Leone and purchased this vessel. At that time it was supposed that Mr. Roberts was not a wealthy man; indeed it was pretty well known that he was not so. However, the vessel was purchased by him. It was then sailed down and laid off the harbor at Monrovia and christened "The Monrovia," in honor of the colony. It lay there at anchor apparently useless; indeed nobody probably knew what Roberts could want of a vessel of that sort—I think, a vessel of twenty tons. It appears, however, that after a few days a young Spanish gentleman, Rodriguez Buron, an agent of the slave dealer, Pedro Blanco, came down from Gallinas, a station between Monrovia and Sierra Leone. He was taken sick in the colony, and was attended by Dr. Bacon. When he became convalescent he desired one day, while going down the coast in the small boat, to be taken out to this vessel. He was in company with the Doctor at the time, and he remarked, "that craft is mine." It was well known that Buron was a person of no means of his own, but simply the agent, acting under the commands of Pedro Blanco. Very soon after this, the vessel was again christened: the name of Monrovia was taken from it, it was taken up to Gallinas, stored full of slaves, and sailed for Cuba.

Well, it would seem that this charge having been made in the face of President Roberts, while he was here last year, if it was untrue it would have been disproved. Mr. Roberts proves only that his name did not appear on the face of

the transcript: and indeed it cannot be shown that he was the person in whose name the slave was sent out from Gallinas. But it does seem strange that while the slave-trader could not go up to Sierra Leone and purchase with his doubloons in his hand the condemned slave, Mr. Roberts could go there and bring her down to Monrovia, anchor her off the harbor, and sell her almost immediately to that slave-trader, for the express purpose of filling her hold with slaves at Gallinas.

But it appears that there is a reason for the connection of the colony with the slave-trader in this way; and that reason, so far as I can learn, is urged to be this:—the pecuniary condition of the colony. You know it is no strange thing that colored men should be slaveholders, for such is the fact in this country, in Louisiana and other States. It is judging human nature by a very curious standard to suppose that colored men are essentially different in this respect from other men. Dr. Bacon, with whom I had an interview this afternoon, informs me that dealing in slaves was a matter of very little moment at the colony; and I was particular to ask him whether he had any knowledge of the continuance of this state of things since he left in 1839. He informed me that he had correspondence and communication with gentlemen who have since been residing in the colony, and who inform him that the practice still continues. He said he had an interview not long since with a gentleman who, at the time, he (Dr. B.) was there, was a large slaveholder on the coast (Cape, I think is the name,) who informed him that the state of affairs is precisely as it was ten years ago. Dr. Bacon said that he could from the government house where he resided take his spy-glass almost any day and look up the river to the little slave depot, about seven miles from Monrovia and see them loading.

Now, it would seem from these facts that we can place no confidence in the present leading men in that colony, nor in the representations which they make of the influence of that colony in the suppression of the Slave Trade on the coast.

Last night I was put in possession of the Maryland Colonization Journal, which contains a letter from a gentleman in the British navy, lauding in very high terms the accession to the cause of human freedom by the establishment of the American Colony on the coast. He speaks of the facility of blockade on that coast by the British and American vessels, and goes on to throw out the theory that there can be no actual suppression of the Slave Trade, unless by the establishment of such colonies as that of Liberia. He says that since the colony has been situated there the Slave Trade has almost ceased at Sierra Leone. But the fact is, that the British captains who go on the coast are not quite so well informed of the true state of things as those who have resided in the colony; because, as you are perhaps aware, British law is very definite; and a British captain who would connive in any way at the continuance of the Slave Trade would be likely to be broken. Hence while the British vessels are on the coast—while they are keeping up the blockade, there is very little done in the way of taking off slaves from the vessels on the coast. It is understood that the slave-traders calculate upon losing about two cargoes in every three that leave the coast, but they obtain on the remainder as much as will compensate for the loss of the other two cargoes. In fact, they think themselves lucky if they can save one out of three cargoes. The gentleman's name who shows these facts, is Lieut. Jackson, I believe. Dr. Bacon tells me that the mode of the continuance of the Slave Trade there is scarcely known to the captains of the British vessels that lie off the coast, because Liberians are very cautious of the British, and the Spanish slave traders are very shy about getting into the clutches of the British vessels. He says he has no faith whatever in the declaration that is continually being made, that the colony is the chief destroyer of the Slave Trade on the coast. This declaration has been made ever since the colony came to be anything at all; and he says, that even while he was there he read, from American newspapers which were sent to him, this oft-repeated declaration, when he knew that the Slave Trade was then actually going on right before his own door.

I come now to speak of the cause why the Slave Trade is carried on by the people of the colony itself. Dr. Bacon informs me that the leading cause for their going into this trade is, the suffering condition of the colony. He says that sometimes for two or three days together the colonists could not get anything to eat;—such, at least, was the case when he was there. The schools could not be kept up, because the children could not be sent on account of their not having enough to eat. He says he has lost patient after patient, all from the inability of their constitutions to stand up under disease, in consequence of their not being able to get sufficient food.—Hence it is that Liberians are willing to go into any trade that is profitable. They get on supplies from the natives in the interior, except rice or some such food as that. They depend mainly upon the supplies which are brought from this country and England. In order to show that the state of things has not materially altered, I will read an extract from the journal of Rev. J. Payne.

From the "Maryland Colonization Journal." "BALTIMORE, March, 1849. Extracts from the journal of the Rev. J. Payne.—1849.

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 28.—Attended this morning the examination of the colonial school at Vaughan. This was postponed a month in consequence of the late scarcity of food, which prevented the children from attending school punctually. The colonists have been almost as great sufferers as the natives; and indeed, have been only enabled to live by eating the cabbage obtained from the palm-tree. In the good providence of God, rice is now again coming in;—the hungry ones receive their daily bread, and are enabled to attend school as before. Fifty-one presented themselves to-day for examination. In view of the injurious influence of the famine just adverted to, the attainment of the children were highly creditable. In looking over these little girls, I could but feel, as I always have on similar occasions, a grateful joy in view of the contrast between their present privileges and what they would have been had not their parents emigrated to this country.

THURSDAY, SEPT. 28th.—The quarterly examination of the schools at this station was held. A considerable number of children are still absent, who were sent to their parents during the prevalence of the late scarcity of food."

Now then with regard to the professions and declarations which have been made by the leading men who have come here from that colony, I do not think we are prepared (at least for one man not) to give credence to all that is said in favor of the colony. I do not find by reading the constitution of the colony under its present form of government, that the colony is at all independent of the Colonization Society. The colonizationists have heretofore professed that they were doing a piece of great charity; at least it was lauded as a very benevolent project.—They boasted of giving two, three, or four acres of ground to any emigrant who would be sent there. Now I am told by Dr. Bacon that you can purchase three or four acres of ground of the natives for a loaf of tobacco, and they will sell it over half a dozen times for the same price. In fact, you can get cultivated ground for nothing, and nobody will ask you any questions, so that the granting of three or four acres of ground is not what it would at first appear to us in this country who do not usually become land-holders so easily.

I am disposed to doubt the sincerity of this project, because I find on record certain things which seem to tell against the individuals who now represent that government.

I am now about to read something in relation to President Roberts. I do not wish the audience to think that I am waging a personal war against the President; not at all. But it is well, I think, when gentlemen get to be Presidents, that they should bear some sort of reputable character. The narrative which I am going to read to you is found in a work entitled "Wanderings on the seas and shores of Africa," written by Dr. D. F. Bacon. I shall make no comments upon the article; it needs none. I will only remark further that Dr. Bacon told me that he could not sit quietly by and see the charities of this country devoted to the support of that colony whose position was so misrepresented. Instead of being a medium for christianizing Africa, it had been a source of immorality, for he says that the natives are not near so temperate as the colonists themselves.—He therefore felt it a matter of duty to publish those statements which he did, and in this I think he did right; he would have been recreant to duty if he had not done so. [Applause.]

"It was during my wanderings on the coast, when I had left the colony for a time, that I learned the facts which I shall now relate. I received them from several distinct sources, in the same terms; and I may add that such is the character of two or three of my informants, that no Colonizationist, no friend of the benevolent enterprises of the age will dare impeach them. All those authorities corroborate each other, not only in the general statement, but in the details.

About the year 1831 or 1832, when the Slave Trade was beginning to renew its activity through all the nominal territories of the colony, there was a Spanish slave trader named Don Miguel, who located himself at Pequeni Basso, about thirty miles down the coast from Cape Monrovia. The Colonists, who found their own great advantage in the prosperity of the Slave Trade, cultivated a friendly intercourse with Don Miguel, as they did with his worthy companions at Gallinas and other places in their neighborhood. The Don was a gentleman, and lived like a gentleman, keeping open house to all his Liberian friends, and sharing with them and all visitors most hospitably, the luxuries which made his "dreadful trade," and lonely exile tolerable. It became known in process of time, to his Liberian friends, that he kept a large stock of doubloons on hand for exigencies of his business. (The practice has since been found rather perilous; and the slave traders now pay in drafts on Havana, New York, and London.) This excited their cupidity, and finally led to the planning of an expedition, the ostensible purpose being no less than a moral crusade against the abominable traffic in human flesh. An imperfect precedent was found in some of Ashmun's queer semi-practical invasions

of the Spanish slave factories; and the colonial agent, Mechlin, was induced to give a secret sanction to it, which he subsequently withdrew, in a fright, when he saw the result and real character of the scheme. The expedition was planned in profound secrecy; and soon, a party of a dozen or twenty embarked on board a little coasting-craft of a few tons burthen, and dropped down to Pequeni Basso, as if on an ordinary trading voyage. They anchored there in the day time, and then went ashore in their small boats to visit Don Miguel, and quietly examining the premises, the mode of approach, and the means of defence in case of alarm. They were, of course, heartily welcomed and hospitably received by their old friend Don Miguel—the "Americans" being always sure of kind treatment from him. He brought out his dainties and stores, and broke his bread and poured out his wine for them. They ate and drank and were filled and were merry, while they marked him and his for their prey. He had with him a younger brother, and perhaps two or three other Europeans as clerks, factors, and guards—the slaves being generally kept watched by kind natives, Kroomen, and others. As the afternoon passed on, he urged them to remain with him all night, and offered them the shelter of his roof, and his beds. But they excused themselves on the score of urgent business, and returned on board. In the dead of night, they came off again, fully armed with loaded muskets, and landed in stealthy silence. They approached the gates of his barricade, and knocked loudly. The watchmen sounded the alarm, and asked, "Who comes?" The answer was,—"The Americans, your friends!" Don Miguel awakened at the call, and said, "Oh, admit them;—open to my American friends. All is right." And as the gate was opened, he advanced, lamp in hand, to receive them, always welcome at any hour. The next instant, he received their musket balls through his breast, and staggered back to fall in his death agony into the arms of his brother—pouring out his heart's blood on his threshold, while the AMERICANS (for this is the name by which they are known in Africa) walked through the gore of their murdered entertainer, to rifle his treasures. They carried off a large quantity of doubloons, and other precious movables, secure by their display of force. Don Miguel's brother, that Spanish brother, quietly looked on as he laid down the warm corpse, and made no complaint, and seeming as helpless and harmless as they passed him by without harming him. They departed with their bloody spoils; and in the day time, he afterwards departed and sailed to Havana with the tidings and with his own quiet purposes. Roberts was the great author of this expedition, and was its real manager, looking on while others did the bloody work. He was entrusted with spoils, and somehow or other, as all agree, managed to secure the lion's share, and to cheat his associates finely. But the whole colony regarded the proceeding with horror; and the superstitious denounced the treasure as the price of blood, prophesying evil and ruin to all the partakers.

"They declare to this day, that all the associates of that bloody scheme were doomed men henceforth, and that nothing would ever prosper in their hands. The gold never seemed to benefit them. They grew poor, and most of them died miserable deaths. Roberts failed in business, and in fulfillment of his doom, as was believed, lost six or seven infant children successively, being left childless. His sixth or seventh child died a little after my arrival. There is nothing striking or peculiar in any of these unfortunate circumstances; for such is the history of nine-tenths of all the Liberians of whom I have ever heard. I know other instances where a long succession of infants have been thus buried, leaving childless parents. But the Colonists were determined to construe every thing in this way, and afterwards mentioned these calamities to me as the special judgments of God on these mercenary and bloody violators of the laws of hospitality. Roberts, and two others of the survivors of the expedition against Miguel, were among my ordinary acquaintances at Monrovia, and served as a precious hint of the real character and hidden capabilities of my fellow residents in Liberia. It so happened, that none of these particular individuals ever had any chance to give me any cause of personal dissatisfaction. With Roberts himself I never came in collision in any way;—but I afterwards heard more of his actual conduct from certain persons of the highest character, who, having occasion to employ an agent to do some business in the colony, selected him merely on the grounds of impressions of his honor and worth derived from his personal appearance and manners, which deceived others as much as me. They found on repeated trial, that he was the most shameless cheat they had ever known—wantonly contriving vexation, and inventing falsehoods, often without any assignable motive—yet all the while to their faces professing the greatest respect for them, and anxiety for the accomplishment of their wishes, and behind their backs uttering the most extravagant falsehoods against them. My authorities are such as cannot be contradicted either in Africa or America."

A writer at Independence, Missouri, says Ohio has more emigrants in the field at this time, than any other State in the Union.

ANTI-SLAVERY BUGLE, SALEM, O.

sufficient to account for such demonstrations; but that a mob of twenty thousand should owe its birth to such a trifle as a question of etiquette between two play-actors—Forest and McCready—would be ridiculous, were it not too tragical in its results. McCready is a man of genius, and so is Forest; but what is the use of killing ten or fifteen people, and wounding twice as many more, because the latter thinks the former did not treat him well when he was in England.

The account of the riot, however, should be received with some grains of allowance—the number of killed and wounded on such occasions is very apt to be exaggerated.—When the civil authorities regain the ascendancy, and the excitement measurably subsides, we trust the reports of the number of those killed and injured will fall far below the statement made amid the confusion of the melee.

That Discussion.

A number of persons have enquired of us concerning a discussion that it is said we were to have with Samuel Hardman, a Disciple preacher. The state of the affair is this: We were called on more than a month since by some friends from the neighborhood of Berlin, and informed that Samuel Hardman had sent a challenge there for a discussion the following week, which they invited us to attend. They could not tell us just what the question was, but we informed them that we would discuss any proposition relating to slavery, except the question of whether the Bible sanctioned the institution; and we desired them to procure for us a written statement of the matter to be discussed. A few days afterwards we received from the challenger the following question:

"Would moral suasion govern the people of the United States, and contribute more to their happiness, than the Constitution and laws as they now exist?"

This, it will be seen, is not the kind of question we consented to discuss; and furthermore, an accompanying note informed us that he would not be able to debate with us for two months, which would be about the time of the Annual Meeting. As we are not acquainted with Samuel Hardman, and do not know how to communicate with him, we have been unable to tell him that neither the time nor the question would suit us. By moral suasion, we understand that power which appeals to the moral feelings of man, and we regard the preaching of Christianity as its highest manifestation. So the question would really be, we understand it, "Is the government of Christianity, or that of the United States more conducive to the happiness of man?" Samuel Hardman doubtless attaches a different idea to moral suasion, so the preliminary question of "What is moral suasion?" would first have to be settled.

THE CHOLERA is very bad in New Orleans; and one hundred and fourteen cases were reported in Cincinnati as having occurred in a few days. We see the authorities of New Lisbon have taken such precautionary measures as prudence dictates in view of its approach; they notify each household in the Borough forthwith, to remove all dirt and filth from their premises. They say:

"Let the cleansing be thorough and complete. Commence at your cellar; go through every room, nook and corner of your house; don't overlook your sewers, privies, hogpens, stables and other out-buildings; remove all manure, and see to it that every thing is removed out of town.

"So soon as this cleansing operation is thoroughly completed you will be furnished with lime, delivered at your doors, free of charge, with directions for its use.

"Too much attention cannot be given to cleansing and purifying your premises, and particularly those we recommend personal cleanliness and temperate habits. Bathe freely and frequently in cold water, drink no intoxicating liquors, keep regular hours, and we apprehend you will be comparatively safe from Cholera or any other epidemic."

We have not heard of any steps being taken in Salem to improve the cleanliness of the place—a work which would not be labor lost, even should the cholera approach no nearer than the river. It is true Salem has a healthy location, and its inhabitants probably stand as good a chance of exemption from epidemic as most others; but a little extra attention at this time cannot possibly do harm, and we think would effect good.

Concert—The Eddy Family.

We understand that this family of Bay State minstrels design giving a concert in Salem on Tuesday evening next; and we trust that those who have a heart that delights in harmony, and who can appreciate one of God's choicest gifts—a sweet and musical voice—will give them such a reception as their talent and reputation as singers deserve. The pieces which they will sing, are of a character to elevate and purify—clothing moral lessons and simple truths in the garb of music. They have performed in many of our cities and large towns with great credit, and we are glad they are now visiting some of the villages of the West. The "Cincinnati Commercial" speaking of them says:

"The Eddy Family have no foreign reputation, nor do they come among us heralded by extravagant puff of their abilities; they modestly present their claims to public patronage, while they surprise an audience with their superior talent. Their music is of that nature which appeals to the heart, their voice

presenting great compass, with exquisite sweetness. Their style is somewhat similar to the Hutchinsons, and many of the Eastern papers accord them a greater merit. The duet by the two sisters, Misses Martha and Mary, "He doeth all things well," and the Trio, "The Blind Girl," are gems, and have received extravagant commendations from the highest sources."

Their concert will be held in the best room they can obtain, and notice of the place and hour will be given by handbills.

On Wednesday evening they will be at New Lisbon.

ALVAN STEWART of New York, formerly of Utica, and one of the leading Liberty party men of the East, died on the last of April. His health had been poor for several years.

CONTRADICTIONS.—In the Kentucky Emancipation Convention there appears to have been various opinions in regard to the character of slavery and the best plan of abolishing it. Not only was there a difference of opinion among the members, but a very striking difference existed in the mind of one member—W. L. Breckenridge, of Louisville—who, in the same breath declared that the religious people of Kentucky did not believe slavery to be "against the Bible doctrine, or sinful according to God's law," but that "they feel in their hearts that slavery is wrong!"

FREEMONT'S MAP.—Our thanks are due to Salmon P. Chase of the U. S. Senate, for a handsome map of Oregon and Upper California, designed by Colonel Fremont.

The Arctic Expedition.

We have it in our power to announce that active measures are in progress to induce Parliament to offer a reward commensurate with the wealth and importance of this great country, for the relief or discovery of Sir John Franklin and his companions.

In doing this, England will only follow the example of other nations; the governments of which have offered rewards, open to all the world, for the success of scientific exploring expeditions. We may in particular mention the case of La Lilloise—already reported in this journal [N. 1061] which was sent on a voyage of discovery to the coast of Greenland—and for the relief of which, after an absence of only three years, a reward was offered by the French government.

In the month of May next, the Arctic expedition will have been absent four years; and it is important to bear in mind, as we have already said, that unless relieved this year, future exertions will, in all human probability, be of no avail. For, with every possible aid and contrivance, the provisions cannot be made to last longer than the close of the present summer; and we have authority for saying that no dependence is to be placed on the very few Arctic animals which are to be found in high latitudes, for a supply of food.

The expedition under Ross and Richardson, and that under Kellett and Moore, tho' well calculated to achieve their object, are yet, from physical causes, so inadequate to the Arctic seas, that unless other ships undertake the search, many hundreds of miles of coast must be left unvisited. The great length of time during which the Arctic Ocean is sufficiently open for the navigation of heavy ships, is six weeks—a period so brief as only to permit a very small tract to be explored. Till every inch of coast has been searched, it cannot be said that all has been done for the relief of our gallant countrymen which might.

It is manifest, therefore, that in order to make the Arctic summer thoroughly available, the number of exploring ships must be multiplied. This, it is presumed, can be best effected by offering a very large reward. It may not be generally known that the U. S. State possesses a fleet of upwards of six hundred whalers, whilst ours has dwindled down to about a score. The former are commanded by experienced men—ardent and adventurous; as a proof of which, we may mention that one commander sailed his ship, last year, through Behring's Straits, as far as Icy Cape, in search of whales.

Not to speak of other maritime countries, the simple fact adduced of the large whaling fleet possessed by the United States, is sufficient to make the offer of a large reward of great moment; for it is not unreasonable to assume that many of these vessels will be directed to the Arctic seas, and it is worthy of note that the safety of each vessel will be increased by increasing their numbers. The desirableness of offering a national reward might be argued even on economical grounds; for should it be the means of finding the lost expedition, the expense, which is most heavy, of keeping out the present searching expedition another summer, will be avoided.

We might yet strengthen the argument in favor of this reward, by alluding to the probable geographical discoveries which the exploration of several ships in the Arctic sea would probably develop; but we take the nobler and more imperative ground of humanity. We take this opportunity to record that Baron Brunow, the excellent representative of the Russian government in this country, is so deeply interested in the fate of the Arctic expedition, that he has prayed his government to send out exploring boats parties from the Asiatic side of Behring's Straits; which proposal will be carried into execution this summer.—*Lon. Athen.*

The Board of Admiralty has offered a reward of £30,000 sterling to any ship or ships which shall render efficient aid to the missing ships or crews. The wife of Sir John Franklin has appealed directly to the President of the United States, asking the co-operation of this government, and especially the assistance of the large whaling fleet which this country sends to the Pacific. The President, in reply, assures her of his sympathy, and promises to invoke the aid of all American navigators in behalf of the missing vessels, and to render such official aid as he constitutionally can.

The paragraph, in stating capitals that Gen. Taylor despises duellists, is still going the rounds of the whig press. It seems that

two midshipmen who were turned out of the service by Mr. Polk for dueling, made application to be re-instated. He refused on account of the duel. Forthwith, the whig press make a great noise over it. They forgot that Mr. Crawford, one of his cabinet officers, killed his man in a duel! What a consistent set these whig politicians are.—*Detroit Free Press.*

Arrest of an Abolitionist at Richmond.

RICHMOND, (Va.) May 10. A shoe dealer named Smith, supposed to be an agent of the Abolitionists, sent a number of boxes to Messrs. Anderson & Co's Express office, marked Merchandise, and directed to C. Williams, Philadelphia, which on examination were found to contain two negro slaves—the boxes were provided with fixtures necessary to sustain life. Smith was immediately arrested and committed for trial.

For the Anti-Slavery Bugle. Meeting of Colored People.

The following resolutions were adopted at a Mass Meeting of colored people, held at Hanover, Columbiana County, on Sunday the 13th inst.

(1.) Resolved, That we collectively regard it as a duty, to form ourselves into one common body, for the purpose of advocating the cause of Temperance, and to exert our influence for the amelioration of our Brethren in bondage.

(2.) Resolved, That all intoxicating Liquors are injurious to the whole human family, when used as a beverage; and not only injures the physical man, but tends to demoralize and corrupt the firm feelings of his nature, and degrades him to a position but little higher than the brute.

(3.) Resolved, That it is the duty of every true citizen, without respect of persons, regardless of circumstances and position in life, as benevolent and honorable men, to lend us their aid and influence, in the furtherance of the great temperance reformation.

(4.) Resolved, That any person who is not willing to assist in reforming the intemperance, and to lend a helping hand in ameliorating the condition of our brethren in slavery, is no Philanthropist, and not worthy of the confidence of this Society.

(5.) Resolved, That we unhesitatingly, and with feelings of the strongest indignation, repudiate any and every scheme of Colonization, either at home or abroad; and when we take into consideration the originators of African Colonization, the very name of it is enough to damn a universe.

(6.) Resolved, That we have with enthusiasm the eradication of part of the heinous Black Laws, of the State of Ohio, and took upon that act as a true index of a better day coming.

(7.) Resolved, That we do not agree with those who say we have nothing to do with slavery in the southern states. We assume the high prerogative, law or no law; that we have to do with slavery in them; and the law that conflicts with reason, liberty and justice, either North or South, we trample under our feet.

(8.) Resolved, That the bondman's final triumph rest upon the speedy Dissolution of this Union, and the destruction of the pro-slavery churches; and those who are daily laboring to accomplish such a laudable undertaking, shall have our approbation, our prayers, and our money.

(9.) Resolved, That we believe all wars are wrong and incompatible with the teaching of Christ; and we endorse that lofty sentiment uttered by that distinguished advocate of universal brotherhood, and friend of every country and clime, Daniel O'Connell—when he says that "No reformation is worthy of shedding one drop of human blood."

(10.) Resolved, That no consistent Christian can vote under the pro-slavery Constitution of these United States, without proving recreant in the highest degree to the principles they have professed to the world; and when he votes or takes office under said Constitution, his religion not only becomes theatrical but practical atheism in the estimation of every intelligent and reflecting mind.

(11.) Resolved, That in the judgment of this Convention, we feel it to be our duty as well as our high privilege to cherish with feelings of enthusiasm those sentiments uttered by Thomas Jefferson, when he says, "that resistance to tyrants is obedience to God."

(12.) Resolved, That we have no interest whatever in the perpetuation of this or any other government that sanctions the odious crimes of trading in the bodies and souls of those with whom we are identified by the dearest ties of nature, bone of our bone and flesh of our flesh.

(13.) Resolved, That we recommend to our disfranchised brethren throughout this pro-slavery government to cease from supporting the pro-slavery Churches of this Country, and give their money to the support of those that are pleading in behalf of the millions of native born Americans, that are crushed in the lowest state of degradation, and kept so by the unjust and inhuman laws of the country.

(14.) Resolved, That the resolutions that were passed by the Presbyterian Church in 1815, among which was that slavery as it exists in the southern states of this union, is no bar to christian communion, that they in

our judgment spoke the language of hell and their customs and practices since that time resemble those of the bottomless pit.

(15.) Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be forwarded forthwith to that uncompromising and deadly foe of oppression, and all unrighteousness, WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON of the old Bay State.

From the Pittsburgh Daily Gazette. Terrible Riot and Loss of Life in New York.

TEN TO FIFTEEN PERSONS KILLED! Twenty to Thirty Persons Wounded!!

New York, May 11.

The disgraceful tumults growing out of the quarrel between Forrest and McCready, which resulted in a riot on Tuesday night, at the Astor Place Opera House, where McCready was playing, in the course of which he was driven from the stage, and compelled to seek safety in flight, have been brought to a most melancholy and bloody termination.

Last night, on the occasion of Mr. McCready's re-appearance at the Astor Place Opera House, the police were in possession of the House in strong force. At an early hour, the mob gathered in large numbers outside. Some twenty thousand spectators were assembled. The mob began an attack on the house by attempts to force the windows and doors. The police attempted their dispersion by throwing water on them, but the rioters persevered. A company of mounted men were brought to the ground, but were fiercely assailed by the mob, pelted with stones, and driven from the field, some of them considerably injured.

A company of Infantry then arrived on the spot, followed by the Governor, with the city guard, and the whole were received with stones and other missiles by the mob, now excited to fury. A portion of a regiment, under Col. Danga, and a detachment of artillery, were also brought to the scene of disorder.

Finding all efforts at dissuasion, and all mild means ineffectual to quell the riot and maintain order, Recorder Tallmadge proceeded to warn the mob of the necessity for extreme measures, and read the Riot Act.—All this was vain.

The mob continued to pelt the soldiers, several of whom were badly wounded, and carried off the ground. An order was then given to fire, but mostly blank cartridges were used. One or two of the rioters, however, were killed and several wounded.

The rioters still not dispersing or giving way, the second, third and fourth rounds were fired with ball, by which some ten or fifteen persons of the mob were either killed on the spot or fell mortally wounded, and some 20 or 30 others were more or less severely wounded.

Sad to relate, several citizens who were mere spectators, some at a considerable distance from the scene of action, were either killed or wounded. Among the killed are one or two women. Several others—one colored—were said to be wounded.

The military kept possession of the field all night. This morning they are throwing up entrenchments around the theatre. There is tremendous excitement throughout the whole city—the rioters still threaten violence. During the night the theatre was several times on fire, but as frequently the flames were subdued without damage. A thousand conflicting and various rumors are afloat, but we forbear repetition of them. Among the rioters arrested was E. Z. C. Judson, alias Ned Buntline.

Later from New York. TWENTY SEVEN DEAD!—FURTHER DISTURBANCE ANTICIPATED.

May 11—P. M.

The whole city is in a state of the most intense excitement, relative to the unfortunate events last night.

The deaths, in the riot, so far as ascertained, amount to TWENTY SEVEN.

McCready, the actor, has left the city.

The 19th Regiment of Infantry has been ordered out for duty to night.

It is reported that the Mayor's house, and the residence of Gen. Sandford will be attacked by the mob to night.

STILL LATER. NEW YORK, 9 o'clock, P. M.

The Mayor issued his proclamation this afternoon, calling upon the citizens to preserve peace. He expressed his firm determination to uphold the laws. Several military companies have been ordered out.

At 7 o'clock this evening, several thousands, and held a meeting in the Park.—Capt. Rynders, of the Empire Club, made a speech, exhorting the citizens not to commit violence.

Mike Walsh made an inflammatory speech, condemning the city authorities. He laughed at the Mayor's proclamation, and said he would side with the people, should the military again interfere. He called for each and all to arm themselves, and give them battle. Fremont's cheering followed this speech. The rioters now in the ascendancy, and it is impossible to tell the result. McCready left this city this morning.

Rome once more Fallen!

Our telegraphic dispatch confirms the almost incredible report that the French ministry have determined to send an army for the purpose of restoring the Pope to the temporal throne of the Roman States. The National Assembly consulted on this project voted for it, notwithstanding the efforts of the faithful and consistent Republicans. France is ruled now by legitimists and intriguers, who ceaselessly make ready the day of fearful reckoning. The Government is mad and doomed.

So Rome falls once again—falls, but not forever. The kindly authority carries its own death-warrant within its pomp and pretence, whether exercised by priest or layman.—When the time comes for it to disappear, armies can as little preserve it as can paper decrees. And the legitimate office of a prince is to prepare for the day when there shall be no prince; to train, educate, fortify, please the people committed to his charge, in order that they may be fully ready to govern themselves when time calls them to undertake it. But what prince has ever ruled with purpose so large and noble!

Plus IX is now restored, or soon will be, by the aid of foreign armies, if indeed the work, shall not have been otherwise accom-

plished before the armies arrive. He who could not allow his own subjects to engage in war against Austria for Italian Independence because war did not consist with his character as head of the Catholic Church and Vicar of the Crucified Nazarene, has not scrupled to resort to war upon his own subjects, and for his own restoration to an earthly throne! Liberty, that but few months ago made his name her word of encouragement to her toiling, baffled, but never despairing children, repeats that name no longer. The Prince of Rome has gone over to the Princes.

This is no religious question, however zealous the efforts to make it such. The Church of Christ depends not for her power upon the sway of earthly authority, and requires no royal splendor to enhance her glory. And, let the prejudices of the world say what they will, the Catholic Pontiff would occupy a far grander and freer position as simply the successor of St. Peter than as the monarch of the Roman States—from time immemorial the worst administered country in Italy if not in Europe.

But facts are always most wisely regarded in the spirit of hope, and of all the banished and fugitive sovereigns of Europe there is none whose restoration could more easily give occasion to the suggestions of that spirit. Not that we expect Pius IX. will follow the path we have spoken of as the best for a prince, namely: the education of the People to do without princes; his past course and the examples of history generally forbid such an expectation. But there is reason to hope that he may do much for the improvement of the Roman Administration by making it more honest and less costly, that he may favor education and give some play to the latent energies and capacities of the country, and that under the more or less free working of the constitutional system, yielded by him when further refusal was impracticable, but now to be definitely established, the foundations of a future and more permanent Roman Republic may be laid as surely as the seed germinates in the soil warmed by the sunshine—laid to endure as long as the dome of St. Peter's points to the kindred sky.—*Tribune.*

Ohio State Teachers' Association.

The second Semi-Annual Meeting of this Association will be attended in Springfield, on Tuesday and Wednesday, the 3d and 4th days of July next. The session will be opened with a public address by the President, Hon. S. Galloway, at 10 o'clock, A. M., of the first day. Other addresses will be delivered during the session. Reports will also be presented upon the best modes of teaching several branches of study, and upon other topics connected with schools and education.

The following questions will be discussed:

1. Would the interests of schools and the cause of education be promoted by creating the office of State and County Superintendent of Schools?

2. Can union schools and classified public schools be made to obviate, entirely, the necessity for sustaining private High Schools and Academies?

3. Can a thorough professional education of teachers be secured without the establishment of one or more Normal schools under the patronage of the State?

4. What action ought this Association to take for the purpose of securing a thorough revision of the school laws of the State?

Any Teacher or member of the Association who is anxious to present a Resolution or topic for discussion will please forward the same to the undersigned, or present it in writing, on the first day of the session. The Chairman of the Committees appointed by the Executive Committee of last year, who have not reported, are earnestly requested to report at this meeting, or to forward their Reports, beforehand, to the undersigned.

The ease of reaching Springfield by public conveyances from the north, south, and west, and the fact that the citizens of the place have generously offered to entertain all the delegates free of expense, will, it is hoped, secure a large attendance of practical Teachers, and active friends of education.—Educational Societies and Teacher's Associations are respectfully invited to send delegates.

A full programme will be published as soon as the arrangement for the exercises is completed.

By Order,
A. D. LORD, Chairman
of the Executive Committee,
Columbus, May 1, 1849.

"THINGS THAT CHANGE."—I suppose but a few months since—it can hardly be a year—that our friend William H. Burleigh, Editor of the Hartford "Character Oak," and for twelve years to our knowledge a thorough Abolitionist, came very near having his office destroyed by a Loco-Foco mob on account of some remarks he had published deemed disrespectful to the Volunteers from that city and neighborhood, just returned from the Mexican War. For several days there was an even chance that his office would be dismembered. A few moons have waxed and waned, and lo! Burleigh is "State Printer" for Connecticut, so far as the House can make him, by the vote of every Loco-Foco in it! Queer world this! If a man can only stand his ground in it, luck may very likely come round to him—who knows!—*Tribune.*

Plato entertained some of his friends at a dinner, and had in the chamber a bed, or couch, neatly and costly furnished. Diogenes came in and got upon the bed, and trampled it, saying, "I trample upon the pride of Plato." Plato mildly answered, "But with greater pride."

The Locusts will appear this year about the 30th of May, in Western Pennsylvania and Eastern Ohio, occupying the whole region from the mountains in Pennsylvania, Ohio county, Va., Columbia and other eastern counties in Ohio. They can be found now in places upon trees and shrubbery, which grew in 1833, in the above region, by skinning the surface of the ground as inch deep with a spade. This will open their chambers, which will appear like augur holes.

AMMONIA DESTRUCTIVE TO LEATHER.—Ammoniacal emanations from manure in stables are most pernicious to leather, it being rendered quite brittle and useless in a very short period; consequently, harness should never be allowed to hang up in stables.

One of our exchanges notices the election of a blind man to the office of Justice of Peace. This is a verification of the saying that "justice to be sacred must be blind."

Hymanical.

MARRIED.—On the 10th inst., by Benjamin Hawley, Esq., Mr. EPHRAIM GREENE, to Miss MARY FAIRBANKS, both of Perry Township.

Also, on the same day, by the same, Mr. JOHN BENNETT, to Miss ARTILLISA LEONARD.

Receipts.

Name	Amount
Jesse Bond, Greenleaf, Wayne	1.00-240
County, Indiana	1.00-240
Oliver Bow, Rootstown	1.00-240
J. Bissell, Lowell	1.00-240
H. Hamilton, "	0.15-330
Sally B. Gove, Salem	1.00-216
Jas. Strickland, "	1.00
J. Hardman, Columbiana	1.00-181
Wm. Bailey, Salem	1.00-214
J. Ingram, "	0.50-153
David Miller, New Garden	1.50-101
Levia Clark, "	1.00-240
B. Brosius, Mt. Union	1.00-238
D. Roberts, Polkville	1.00-249
J. Carter, Mt. Pleasant	0.00-154
R. P. Harmon, Kirklaid	1.00-199

* No Post Office given.

Please take notice, that in the acknowledgment of subscription money for the Bugle, not only is the amount received placed opposite the subscribers name, but also the number of the paper to which he has paid, and which will be found in the outside column of figures.

No subscriber need expect that a reduction from the price of \$150 will be made, unless the money is forwarded at the time specified in the published terms.

FRUIT TREES.

The proprietor has on hand a handsome lot of FRUIT TREES, comprising Apple, Pear, Peach, Plum, and Cherry trees, and some Grape Vines and Ornamental Trees, all of which he will sell on reasonable terms, at his residence in Goshen, Mahoning Co., 41 miles north-west of Salem.

ZACHARIAH JENKINS, Jr.

Aug. 11, 1848.

BENJAMIN BOWN.

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Keep constantly on hand a general assortment of

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No. 18, Main street, Cincinnati.

January, 1849.

SPELLING REFORM.

DEPOT OF PHONOGRAPHIC BOOKS!

THE following Phonographic works can be had at the SALEM BOOKSTORE, at Publishers' wholesale Prices. Teachers and Lecturers can therefore be supplied without the trouble and expense of sending East.

The Phonographic Class Book, 25 cts.

" Photographic Reader, 37 1/2 "

ANTI-SLAVERY BUGLE, SALEM, O.

POETRY.

From Sartain's Magazine for May.

Resignation.

BY HENRY W. LONGFELLOW.

There is no flock however watched and tended,
But one dead lamb is there!
There is no freeman, however defended,
But one vacant chair!

The air is full of farewells to the dying,
And mournings for the dead;
The heart of Rachel for her children crying,
Will not be comforted!

Let us be patient! these severe afflictions
Not from the ground arise,
But oftentimes celestial benedictions
Assume this dark disguise.

We see but dimly through the mists and vapors
Amid these earthly damps
What seem to us but dim, funeral tapers,
May be Heaven's distant lamps.

There is no Death! what seems so is transition;
This life of mortal breath
Is but a suburb of the life elysian,
Whose portals we call Death.

She is not dead—the child of our affection—
But gone unto that school
Where she no longer needs our poor protection,
And Christ himself doth rule.

In that great Cloister's stillness and seclusion
By guardian angels led,
Safe from temptation, safe from sin's pollution,
She lives, whom we call dead.

Day after day we think what she is doing
In those bright realms of air;
Year after year her tender steps pursuing,
Behold her grown more fair.

Thus do we walk with her, and keep unbroken
The bond which nature gives,
Thinking that our remembrance, though unspoken,
May reach her where she lives.

Not as a child shall we again behold her;
For when with raptures wild
In our embraces we again enfold her,
She will not be a child.

But a fair maiden, in her Father's mansion,
Clothed with celestial grace;
And beautiful with all the son's expansion
Shall we behold her face.

And though at times, impetuous with emotion
And anguish long suppressed,
The swelling heart heaves moaning like the ocean,
That cannot be at rest.

We will be patient! and assuage the feeling
We cannot wholly stay;
By silence sanctifying, not concealing
The grief that must have way.

The Angel at Springfield.

Is it, O man, with such discordant noise,
With such discordant strains,
That dwell on nature's sweet and kindly voice,
And jar the celestial harmonies?

Woe half the power that fills the world with terror,
Woe half the wealth bestow'd on camps and courts,
Given to redeem the human mind from errors,
There were no need of arsenals nor ports:

The warrior's name would be a name abhorred!
And every nation, that should lift again
Its hand against a brother, on its forehead
Would wear for evermore the curse of Cain!

LONGFELLOW.

MISCELLANEOUS.

From the Boston Chronotype.

The Witchcraft of 1692:

OR,

THE NEW ENGLAND REIGN OF TERROR.

NUMBER ONE.

Between February and October of the year of our Lord, 1692, seven men, and thirteen women were solemnly slaughtered according to the forms of law, in the Province of Massachusetts; and two dogs, with somewhat less formality, suffered death for the same crime. The men were as innocent as the animals, and neither could have committed the crime if they would. All the human beings protested their innocence to the last. Eighty other persons were condemned to death. More than a third part of those who suffered, were members of churches, one was a respectable minister of the Gospel, and above one-half were persons of the best reputation for morality. In no case was any evidence of the imaginary crime put in, which in our present courts of justice would have raised a presumption of guilt. About one hundred and fifty persons were imprisoned for the same crime, fifty-five of whom confessed themselves guilty, and were not punished. More than two hundred others were arrested. Of course, such a slaughter occurring in a small community insulated from the world by an ocean on one side, and unexplored forests on the other, must have created a very intense excitement. A wilder commotion of human passions was not witnessed in that "Reign of Terror" which occurred in a more populous hemisphere one hundred years afterwards.

In the language of a divine of that period, on whose soul more than elsewhere rests the guilt of this frightful tragedy, "There was a prodigious descent of devils upon divers places near the centre of this province; wherein some scores of miserable people were troubled by horrible appearances of a black man, accompanied with spears, wearing these and other human shapes, who offered them a book to be by them signed, in token of

their being listed for the service of the devil; and upon their denying to do it, they were dragged with a thousand preternatural torments, which gave no little terror to the beholders of these unhappy people." But some, as was supposed, did not deny to sign the book, and thus enlisting in the service of the devil, they became tormentors of the innocents, sticking pins in children and weak women, throwing them into fits, sucking "preternatural teats" on their bodies, frightening them with horrible spectres and tormenting them with little rag puppets, into which when they stuck pins the afflicted were pained in the same place. Those people who had thus consented to enter into the service of the devil, were upon very remarkable evidence convicted before a special commission of magistrates and a jury of 12 men at Salem, and disposed of as aforesaid.

No more instructive theological problem, solved and demonstrated by a *reductio ad absurdum*, can be found in all human history. It was an epoch, a winding up of an old mode of theological belief, and the announcement of a new order of the spiritual ages. It was the last act of New England baby-hood, and the dawn of reason. From this point we can look back at it with almost equal horror, amusement and edification.

Increase Mather, D. D., President of the Harvard College, and his son Cotton Mather, D. D., F. R. S., &c., Pastor of the Old North Church, in Boston, were, one hundred and fifty years ago, the great lights of the New England church. They were ambitious, especially the son, to outshine everything that had gone before or should ever come after, in their reputation for learning and piety. Rev. Cotton Mather particularly desired to have it understood that he was not only a divine, orator, poet, philosopher, and historian, but that he was more than a match for Satan. By his learning, and more particularly by his astounding pedantry he overwhelmed the people of a simple age. Pope or Jesuit never threw his toils around the ignorant more adroitly. He not only abounded in his work of the ministry, praying and preaching incessantly, but he wrote and published tracts and volumes by the cart-load. His piety oozed out of every pore, and he offered himself up a living sacrifice of gas and glory for the good of the church and the up-building of the gospel ministry. It must strike every unprejudiced reader of history that Cotton Mather was as the Fourierists say, the grand pivotal man of it, without which it could not have got into motion as it did. His superlative and almost supernatural vanity and cant were the blister plasters which drew the peccant humors to a head.

Witchcraft had for ages been the head maid of Priestcraft. It was known to the English law. It flourished in all the countries of Europe, more or less. Cases had occurred in New England, in which it was suspected. Idle rumors were always rife among the less intelligent portion of the people, of the doings of Satan and his imps for the torment of mankind in this upper world, by way of anticipation of the molten brimstone beneath. Cotton Mather, finding that the events of the Indian wars and the growth of the country were lessening the consideration of the ministry, first set himself to magnify his office, by collecting and publishing the most silly and ridiculous stories of witches with all the solemnity of a reverend owl. He was not contented to publish them as spiritual wonders, but must call them "Thaumaturgia Pneumatica," and interlard his foolish narrations with phrases of Greek, Latin and Hebrew, raving down the whole with appropriate texts of scripture. We shall see how he succeeded.

In 1688, the four children of one John Goodwin of his own parish, children that had been religiously educated, as he tells us, and showed a "towardly ingenuity," (as we'll be bound,) were arrested by a "stupendous witchcraft." The account which he gives of their carrying on, leaves the reader somewhat in doubt whether to be astonished at him for his cunning or his credulity. But, as the case was the model one, and Cotton Mather has taken special pains to give its details with great exactness, we must quote from his *Magnalia Christi* sufficient to give the reader a clear perception of its features. The commencement of this "stupendous witchcraft" was as follows:

"The eldest of the children, a daughter of about thirteen years old, saw cause to examine their laundress, the daughter of a scandalous Irish woman in the neighborhood, about some linen that was missing; and the woman bestowing very bad language on the child, in her daughter's defence, the child was immediately taken with odd fits, that carried in them something diabolical. It was not long before one of her sisters, with two of her brothers, were horribly taken with the like fits, which the most experienced physicians pronounced extraordinary and preternatural: and one thing that the more confirmed them in this opinion was, that all the children were tormented still just the same part of their bodies, at the same time, though their pains flew like swift lightning from one part unto another, and they were kept so far asunder, that they neither saw nor heard one another's complaints. At 9 or 10 o'clock at night, they still had a release from their miseries, and slept all night pretty comfortably. But when the day came, they were most miserably handled.— Sometimes they were deaf, sometimes

dumb, sometimes blind, and often all this at once. Their tongues would be drawn down their throats, and then pulled out upon their chins, to a prodigious length. Their mouths were forced open to such a wideness, that their jaws went out of joint; and anon clapped together again, with a force like that of a spring lock, and the like would happen to their shoulder-blades and their elbows and hand wrists and several of their joints. They would lie in a benumbed condition, and be drawn together like those that are ty'd neck and heels; and presently be stretch'd out, yes, drawn back enormously."

How perfectly unsuperstitious! The children had been religiously educated, stories of witchcraft included, one of them was violently provoked, the idea of making a witch of the poor Irish woman was not very hard for them to apprehend, to crown all, the physicians, in that age only second to the clergy, pronounced it preternatural! The case went on strong. The ministers of Boston and Charlestown observed a day of fasting and prayer on account of it.— The Reverend historian is careful to tell us that when devotions had been performed with the children before, "their hearing was utterly taken from them;" but on this occasion, at the troubled house, the youngest of the four children was immediately, happily, finally delivered from all its trouble."

But in that age of New England the civil magistrates were the humble servants of the ministers, and they also interfere, not to put these cunning and mischievous children in the House of Correction, as would now be done, but to examine the poor old washerwoman, Glover by name, whom the children had accused of bewitching them, or "having employed these troublesome devils," as Cotton Mather expresses it. And the devout and learned Divine adds, "she gave such a wretched account of herself, that she was committed unto the Gaoler's custody."

The poor old Irish woman was not very communicative. She bothered the judges by talking only in Irish and requiring interpreters to make the court understand what she said. These interpreters were so puzzled that they concluded some other witch had laid a spell upon her to keep her from communicating anything. To help on the trial, the poor creature's house was searched, when, marvellous to relate, "several images, or puppets, or babies, made of rags and stuffed with goat's hair, were thence produced," and, says the learned Cotton Mather, "the wife woman confessed that her way to torment the objects of her malice was by wounding of her finger with her spitte, and stroking of those little images."

When one of these dolls was brought to the old woman in court, doubtless surprised enough to see it, she snatched it up, and at that instant one of the children fell into fits. This so much startled the Judges that they had the experiment repeated, and at every time there was the same result, though the historian tells us the children did not see the hand laid upon the image. She also confessed that she had had a supernatural assistant for the occasion who had deserted her. "However," says Dr. Mather, "to make all clear, the court appointed five or six physicians to examine her very strictly, whether she was no way crazed in her intellectual." To these physicians the woman talked very rationally, professed herself a Roman Catholic, showed that she could recite the PATER NOSTER, except a clause or two—which of course the devil prevented her from pronouncing—and the doctors returned her *compos mentis*. She was accordingly condemned and hanged for a witch. It is quite remarkable how the three liberal professions, Divinity, Physic and Law cooperated to produce this murder of a poor washerwoman.— Does any body suppose that either godliness, health or justice was promoted by it?

This case is not to be passed over without remarking that as soon as the woman Glover was committed for witchcraft, every neighbor who had ever had a quarrel with her came forward with some mysterious tale against her, and other children were afflicted and laid the blame on her. Cotton Mather luxuriates like a hungry cow in a clover field on the marvellous things which happened to all those afflicted children, going to confirm the judgment of the court while the poor wretch was awaiting her execution. At this extremity his excellent piety led him to offer her the aid of his powerful prayers, but she said the spirits would not give her leave to accept his aid, and she would not consent without it. She also said that the afflicted children would not be relieved by her death, for others had a hand in their affliction.

"Accordingly," says Mather, "the three children (Goodwin's) continued in their furnace as before; and it grew rather seven times hotter than it was." But the old Irish washerwoman being dead and gone, the afflicted children still in their truncheons were puzzled to fix upon any person in particular as their tormentor. They used only pronouns in their charges. The antecedents were missing. But after awhile they were able to discern shapes and utter names. They saw spectres, and when these spectres were beaten "one or two dangerous women in the town" suffered. But the magistrates did not interfere to arrest them. The victory over the devil was reserved to honor the power of prayer. "The calamities of the children went on,"

says our rich historian, "till they barked at one another like dogs, and then purred like so many cats." They complained of being in a red hot oven, of being roasted on spits, nailed to the floor, and deprived of all their bones. "One of them dreamt that some thing was growing within his skin, cross one of his ribs. An expert chirurgeon (we are quoting from Cotton Mather) search the place, and found there a brass pin, which could not possibly come to lie there as it did, without a prestigious and mysterious conveyance. Sometimes they were very mad, climbed high fences, flew like geese touching their toes to the ground, sometimes "not once in twenty foot." They came very near strangling, burning and drowning themselves, but the "Providence of God" always prevented it; and strange to say, if any mischief happened, as the destroying of a garment or spilling of a cup, "they would laugh excessively." Now listen to a more amazing wonder. "Upon the least reproof of their parents they were thrown into inexpressible anguish, and would roar excessively. It usually took up abundance of time to dress them or undress them, through the strange postures into which they would be twisted, on purpose to hinder it; and yet the demons did not know our thoughts; for if we used a jargon, and said, 'untie his neckcloth,' but the party didn't understand our meaning to be, 'untie his shoe,' the neck cloth, and not the shoe, has been by written postures rendered strangely inaccessible." So in bed, it was impossible to keep the clothes on them, and if bid to do any needless thing they would do it with alacrity, but if bidden to do something useful, they would be terribly tormented."

But the most awful torments were produced by any reference to God, Christ or the catechism. The oldest child was taken by the Rev. Cotton Mather to his own house, where if ever a Divine was sold, he was, if we may believe his own account. He took her, that if possible he might by his own eyes be able "to rebuke the sabbathkeepers of his debauched age," and the cunning little rogue understanding his prejudices, played upon them so adroitly that he had all he could wish. He hated Quakers, Papists and Episcopalians, and the girl could read any books in their favor with perfect fluency, unless she stumbled on the words, God, or prayer, or something good, showing that they were all of the devil, but books against them she could not read.

Among her other pranks she used to ride an invisible horse, all which she did at first sitting in her chair, but at length, she rode up stairs, and the door of the doctor's sacred study being left open, she entered and stood upon her feet, exclaiming, "They are gone! they are gone! They say they cannot come—God won't let 'em come here!" and then added some compliments to the holiness of the owner of the study which his extreme modesty would not allow him to repeat. Here she came perfectly to herself, and sat reading the Bible and other good books. "Her affairs calling her anon to go down again, the demons were in a quarter of a minute as bad upon her as before, and her horse was waiting for her." After this favorable experiment of the holy study, the pious spectators were anxious to renew it, pulling her out of the hands of those who would lead her in. But when once in she was well, and the owner of the study records,

"She would be faint at first, and say, she felt something go out of her! (the noises whereof we sometimes heard, like that of a mouse,) but in a minute or two she could apply herself to devotion, and express herself with discretion as well as ever in her life."

To satisfy the curious, the experiment was many times repeated, and always with the same success, till the conscientious divine forbade it because he was "unwilling to have anything done like making a charm of a room." Another day of fasting and prayer by the ministers of Boston and Charlestown, produced a sensible benefit to Goodwin's afflicted family, and they gradually recovered.— The young woman remained quietly and with "veracious conversation" in the Doctor's family during the winter. But when he thought proper to commence writing a sermon about the "memorable providences wherein these children had been concerned," her torments returned, and she did all sorts of things to disturb him.

She was very "sassy," and would come into his study and any somebody in the parlor would be glad to see him.— When he chid her for thus fooling him, she would reply, "Mrs. Mather is always glad to see you." At this time the Doctor ascertained by experiments upon her that the devil understood Latin, Greek and Hebrew, but not much of Indian. Prayer was at last victorious and the learned Divine gives a rich account of its triumph, from which we extract some remarkable passages.

"When we went unto prayer, the demons would throw her on the floor at the feet of him that prayed, where she would whistle, and sing, and yell, to drown the voice of prayer, and she would fetch blows with her fist, and kicks with her foot, at the man that pray'd, but still her fist and foot would always recoil when they came within an inch or two of him, as if rebounding against a wall, and then she would beg hard for other people to strike him, which (you may be sure) not being done, she cried out, he has wounded me in the head. But before the prayer was over, she would be laid for dead, wholly senseless, and (unto appearance)

breathless, with her belly swelled like a drum; and sometimes with croaking noises in her. Thus would she lie, most exactly with the stiffness and posture of one that had been two days lain out for dead. Once lying thus, as he that was praying was alluding to the words of the *Canaanites*, and saying, *Lord have mercy on a daughter vex'd with a Devil*, there came a big, but low voice from her, in which the spectators did not see her mouth to move, *there's two or three of us*. When prayer was ended, she would revive in a minute or two, and continue as frolicsome as ever."

We are obliged to omit many interesting particulars, but the final triumph is thus modestly recorded:

"But after a while, they [the afflictions of the children] began again; and then one particular minister taking a particular compassion on the family, set himself to serve them in the manner prescribed by our Lord Jesus Christ. Accordingly the Lord being besought thrice in three days of prayer, with fasting on this occasion, the family then saw their deliverance perfected; and the children afterwards all of them, not only approved themselves devout christians, but unto the praise of God reckon'd those their afflictions among the special incentives of their christianity."

It is hardly necessary to say that the "one particular minister" was no other than Cotton Mather himself.

This silly rignarole of transparent priestcraft, more villainous than any conceivable witchcraft, was certified to by the "ministers of Boston and Charlestown," and published in London, "the famous Baxter" saying in his preface to it: "This great instance comes to us with such convincing evidence that he must be a very obdurate Sadducee, that will not believe it." We have dwelt on it particularly because it was the seed of all that flourished four years after, and a correct understanding of it will solve the whole problem.

NUMBER TWO.

It will be remembered that the remarkable case of bewitchment which we narrated in our last, which proved fatal to the poor Irish Catholic Glover, occurred in 1698. It was probably similar in its nature and result to the cases which had occurred before in the Province of Massachusetts and in Connecticut. The victim was a miserable woman out of the pale of public sympathy and her taking off caused little sorrow or thought. But no case before probably met with such an historian. Here the famous and worthy of all the New England Divines was so deeply interested that he examined all the details in person, kept one of the bewitched all winter in his own family, delivered her from Satan by three days of prayer and fasting, and glorified the act by publishing far and wide all the marvellous details. Doubtless there was not a house in New England into which this story did not penetrate. And surely the more pious and devout any household might be, the more likely was Cotton Mather to be implicitly believed in.

It is quite obvious that in four years such a story from such a source would take fast hold of the popular mind of the colony. One wonder was not then immediately driven out by another, as in these days of weekly and daily and almost hourly newspapers. The wonders of Cotton Mather were pondered upon and prayed over. They were talked of day after day by parents and children.— They excited the young imagination in the waking hours of the night. What ever may be said of the sincerity of the learned Cotton Mather, the common people believed the whole as firmly as they believed their Bibles. And why not, for it was part and parcel of the Bible!— The hanging of Glover was justified, in the view of the people by the inspired command. Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live. This belief in witchcraft was a part of their religion, and their religion was almost the whole of their being.— By the year 1692, the minds of the people were fully prepared for a "prodigious descent of devils."

Rev. Samuel Parris was the minister of Salem village, a part of the town now included in South Danvers, at the era of the outbreak. He was a gentleman of liberal education, who, as Calef naively remarks, "not meeting with any great encouragement, or advantage, in merchandizing, to which for some time he applied himself, betook himself to the work of the ministry." As a proof that he meant to make a better thing of preaching than he had been able to do of trading, he prevailed upon the town, or a part of it, acting in a tota capacity, to grant to him as his own estate in fee simple, the house and land which had been set apart by the whole town as a paragonage. This excellent care of himself produced a serious division in his parish, some taking sides with him and many against him. Whether the Rev. George Burroughs, who afterwards figures in this memorable history, was in any way mixed up with this controversy, we have not now the means of ascertaining. But it evidently had produced a very deep alienation of feeling, and placed Mr. Parris in a very undesirable attitude as a clergyman.

It was in February, 1792, that some of the younger and weaker members of Mr. Parris's family began to act in a strange way. The physicians were resorted to, and pronounced them bewitched.

The parson applied himself to fasting and prayer. An Indian man and woman belonging to his family tried their art to

discover the witches, and singular enough was their method. They "made a cake of rye meal, with the children's water, and baked it in the ashes and gave it to the dog;" soon after which it is related that the afflicted persons named several that they had seen in their fits afflicting them. On the 11th of March, Mr. Parris invited in the neighboring ministers to join him in keeping a solemn season of prayer and fasting at his own house.

The first person complained of—and it is a very remarkable and significant fact—was Tituba, the Indian woman above referred to. She confessed that the devil urged her to sign a book and also to torment the children. On this confession "she was committed to prison, and lay there till sold for her fees." She afterwards confessed that her master, the Rev. Mr. Parris, beat her to make her confess and accuse her sister witches, and refused to pay her fees unless she stood to this false confession.

To this next egg of witchcraft, the children soon added accusations against Sarah Good, a "melancholy and distracted woman," and one Osborn, a poor bed-ridden old lady, two persons so "ill thought of" that the accusation was the more readily believed. And from this they passed to the accusation of Martha Cory, of Salem Village, and Rebecca Nurse, of Salem both respectable and aged members of the church. On the 21st of March Mrs. Cory was examined before the magistrates of Salem Village. The excitement was very great. The number of the afflicted had now increased to ten, and accusations and horrors increased beyond all description. When Goodwife Cory was brought before the magistrates she asked the privilege of praying, but they gruffly told her they came to examine her, not to hear her pray. The praying was all to be done by a minister, and Rev. Mr. Noyes of Salem did it on this occasion. The ten afflicted were all present at the examination, and kept up a horrible din by their outcries, bringing the most absurd and ridiculous charges, all of which the prisoner denied; but the magistrates committed her to prison, and the crying out thereupon abated.

Among the absurd things testified against this unfortunate woman were that a black man whispered in her ear, and a yellow bird sucked between her fingers, before the whole assembly, but though none but the accuser could see such a thing or any sign of it, the Reverend Parson and sapient magistrate seem to have swallowed it all as solemn matter of fact. A similar scene occurred at Salem three days after on the examination of Rebecca Nurse, Rev. Mr. Hale, of Beverly, leading in prayer and the accusers being present, shrieking and falling into fits in the most appalling manner. She was committed to prison; with Cory, Good and the rest, and the afflicted proceeded to criminate others, often in distant towns, till the whole region was thoroughly stirred up and horror brooded every where. The zeal and earnestness against the witches, in the whole community, except the accused and their particular friends, seems to have been as great as if they had been contending for life with an army of devils.— The Sadducees were confounded and the Scribes and Pharisees had every thing in their own way. The prison rapidly filled, and the whole community ripened for murder.

(To be Continued.)

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